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# Labour, Mr. K and Sweden's bomb

By Bjoern Hallstroem

SWEDEN'S Socialists have won another election on the theme "You never had it so good." Any party in power anywhere, given boom conditions, seems able to rally support with this slogan. Sweden has now had a Socialist Government for 28 years, and the electorate has just given the Government a mandate for another four years.

This was an election for or against the Welfare State, as is shown by the fact the Conservatives lost heavily, due to their demands for savings in the welfare budget. Nothing else mattered, although much has been heard lately about Swedish preparations for nuclear weapons of their own.

In his Battersea speech Mr. Gaitskell used this as one of the main arguments against neutralism.

"Switzerland and Sweden," he said, "are the two European countries which have come nearest to adopting nuclear weapons of their own."

It is interesting to note that Mr. Khrushchev, in his speech in Helsinki during his visit to Finland four weeks ago, made exactly the opposite interpretation of the Swedish position. "Sweden has promised not to make any nuclear weapons," he said.

In reality, the whole question of a Swedish atomic bomb has been shelved by an all-party decision in Parliament to give

# THE ANSWERS TO GAITSKELL'S BOMBS

**JUST SEVEN DAYS BEFORE THE OPENING OF THE LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE, MR. GAITSKELL LET THE CAT OUT OF THE BAG. BY GIVING A DRESS REHEARSAL OF HIS SCARBOROUGH BOMB SPEECH HE REVEALED THE UTTER IRRELEVANCE OF THE PARTY LEADERSHIP'S NUCLEAR STRATEGY.**

It may well be that the Gaitskell policy is now a minority opinion in the Labour movement, though after the TUC fiasco voting can apparently mean anything in these circles. But those in favour of preparations for nuclear war draw their main strength not from the procedural fiddles by which they hope to save their faces, but from the press—which is largely conservative and wholly in favour of super-militarism.

It is for this reason that the answers to the grandiose claims of the Party leader must be heard.

**MR. GAITSKELL ACCUSES** the supporters of unilateral nuclear disarmament of proposing to put the West at Russia's mercy.

**THE FACT IS** there is not a single thing Mr. Gaitskell could do as Prime Minister if the Russians started troop movements in Central Europe tomorrow—except press the button that led promptly to everyone's death. Committed to present policy—whether the weapons are owned by Britain, the USA or anyone—we are completely at the mercy of the Bomb, and every border incident could mean the end of everything.

**MR. GAITSKELL CLAIMS** that the British people will "never accept a policy of neutralism."

**THE TRUTH IS** they have never been asked to accept the policy of the H-bomb. The Attlee Government developed the A-bomb secretly. The Conservatives inherited the logic of this policy until Duncan Sandys could announce that the Government would attempt to defend only the

to do the right thing that they all go on waiting indefinitely while the situation deteriorates daily.

**MR. GAITSKELL PRONOUNCES** that "if we cut ourselves off from the main stream of international affairs in a vain hope that we may be saved in some mysterious way from a nuclear holocaust, we are abandoning our responsibilities."

**THE REAL SITUATION** is exactly the reverse. The military and their allied politicians have cut themselves off from the main stream of humanity on the incredible gamble that somehow greater development of nuclear strategy will not lead to the usual—and inevitable—result. What previous arms race has fulfilled statesmen's responsibilities, Mr. Gaitskell?

**MR. GAITSKELL ASSERTS** that if Britain leaves NATO, the Government will have no influence on the Alliance or world politics.

**ON THE CONTRARY**, Britain has next to no influence in NATO already. Mr. Macmillan could not save the summit talks in Paris or prevent the repercussions of American spy-flights. What evidence has Mr. Gaitskell that he could do better? It is the neutral nations that are now coming into their own at the United Nations, and they would be significantly strengthened by Britain.

**MR. GAITSKELL DID NOT** claim that the retention of nuclear weapons was an idealistic campaign worthy of the pioneer socialist tradition; that here was a crusade

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It is interesting to note that Mr. Khrushchev, in his speech in Helsinki during his visit to Finland four weeks ago, made exactly the opposite interpretation of the Swedish position. "Sweden has promised not to make any nuclear weapons," he said.

In reality, the whole question of a Swedish atomic bomb has been shelved by an all-party decision in Parliament to give a grant for nuclear research without any commitments whether the research was to benefit military or civilian purposes.

Mr. Khrushchev regarded this as a promise to abstain from making nuclear weapons.

Many people in Sweden share this view,

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**MR. GAITSKELL CLAIMS** that the British people will "never accept a policy of neutralism."

**THE TRUTH IS** they have never been asked to accept the policy of the H-bomb. The Attlee Government developed the A-bomb secretly. The Conservatives inherited the logic of this policy until Duncan Sandys could announce that the Government would attempt to defend only the bases—not the people. Have the people accepted that, Mr. Gaitskell?

**MR. GAITSKELL REPEATS** that "as long as the Soviet has nuclear weapons, the West must have them too."

**THE RESULT** of this policy—which matches everyone else's for sterility—is that each nation is so determined to be the last

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**MR. GAITSKELL DID NOT** claim that the retention of nuclear weapons was an idealistic campaign worthy of the pioneer socialist tradition; that here was a crusade that would attract much-sought youth into a sick movement; or that these weapons might well have to be used; or what the consequences would be.

**WHY NOT?** Someone should ask him.



The case against the Gaitskell policy, however, does not simply rest on pointing out that he has no answers to the really important questions. Rather it is based on the very real and positive advantages of unilateral nuclear disarmament:

- The first real step to end the cold war would have been taken.
- A policy with real hopes would replace the present foolish waiting-for-something-to-turn-up line.
- A genuinely independent foreign policy would become possible.
- Desperately needed money to fight hunger and disease could be released from an arms bill which "defence" spokesman George Brown warns may well be increased by a future Labour Government.
- With all nuclear bases and missile sites in the country abandoned, there would be an infinitely greater hope of Britain avoiding rocket bombardment than at present.
- A radically different nuclear policy would alter the whole structure of British politics and would again make them relevant to the major problems confronting man. It would be a recognition that morality cannot be forever relegated to the wilderness.

The present policy of the Party leadership—like all its hastily-adopted fore-runners—ignores every one of these considerations. It is high time they were recognised as paramount.



Bill Floyd

Edinburgh to London protest: Bertrand Russell speaking in Trafalgar Square last Saturday. See report back page.



## PEACE NEWS

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SUNDAY, OCTOBER 2, 6.30 p.m. at Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1, "Quaker Hope and Faith." Speaker: Kathleen Slack.

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HAROLD STEELE—he tried to go to Christmas Island—is a Unitarian, and knows it. Are you a Unitarian without knowing it? Ask Unitarian Information, 6 Essex Street, Strand, W.C.2.

INTERNATIONAL TRAVEL. Clause 83 of the International Sanitary Regulations allows objectors to vaccination to enter other countries without vaccination certificates. Further information from

# THE NEW FORCE FOR PEACE AT UN

VERILY and without peradventure (as the theologians used to say) this is Africa's year.

With three months of 1960 still to go, two-thirds of the people of the Continent have gained political independence. This week, Nigeria, with the largest population in Africa, joins the liberated nations. That this revolution of freedom is of significance not only to Africa is made clear by Dr. Homer Jack in his article about the United Nations elsewhere in *Peace News*.

Gone are the days when America could rule the roost in the United Nations. Gone are the days when Soviet Russia was the Opposition. Now the Afro-Asian nations are the largest group. Their vote is decisive.

These new Member States are the uncommitted nations of the earth. They belong to neither of the Establishments, not America and the West, not Russia and the East. Many of their people are poor and illiterate, "uncivilised," the Roy Welensky would say.

But they don't threaten the very existence of mankind with hydrogen bombs. Their contributions to the body politic of the world will be for peace.

Let us be realists, however, about the Afro-Asian group. Some of the thirteen African States from the French Community may not always vote at first with the other African States. There is still much loyalty to France. They are still dependent upon France, economically and militarily. They have not caught fully the psychology of self-reliant Africa.

But that will come. The peoples who have emerged from French West and Equatorial Africa are Africans. They will increasingly react as Africans as they exercise and extend their new freedoms. When President de Gaulle prepares to test his hydrogen bomb on African soil their resentment will mount. Unless he makes

By Fenner Brockway, MP

Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom

peace with the Algerians on the basis of genuine self-determination, the Africans emerging from French rule will react just as all Africans.

The General Assembly resolution on the Congo has been universally interpreted in America, Britain and Western Europe as a victory for the West against Russia. It wasn't that. It was a victory for the Afro-Asian nations, with a reproof to interests in both the Power blocs.

Russia and Czechoslovakia intervened in the Congo, and they stand condemned; but the major intervention was the continued presence of Belgium. And let us not delude ourselves. In Leopoldville there was a great deal of behind-the-scenes pressure from influential elements of the old colonial West against M. Lumumba, the Prime Minister appointed by the elected Parliament and deposed without their consent.

### Significant clause

Hardly any of the Press gave the terms of the Afro-Asian resolution. I have seen it in full only in the *Guardian* among British papers. I thought the most significant clause authorised the appointment of Asian and African representatives by the UN Advisory Committee on the Congo to act in conjunction with the Secretary-General to exert conciliation for the peaceful solution of the internal conflicts in the Congo and for its unity and integrity.

This did not go as far as my proposal for an Afro-Asian Commission, but later President Nkrumah put forward an almost identical plan. I am sure that Africans and Asians can have the best results in the advice they give for a political settlement

in the Congo. Indeed, before the UN resolution was passed the representatives in Leopoldville of Ghana, Morocco, Tunisia, the UAR and Guinea had already contributed much in their negotiations between M. Kasavubu and M. Lumumba.

There is one other issue on which I must write emphatically if briefly. British Central Africa is plunging into crisis.

It is now known that the majority on the Monckton Commission will recommend that the three States—Nyasaland and the two Rhodesias—shall have the right to secede from the Federation when they have responsible governments, expected in five years' time. The African minority will recommend that they shall have the right to secede now.

Sir Roy Welensky is angry beyond words. He has indicated that he will resist and that he will ask the voters (with two-thirds European power) to endorse his determination.

It remains to be seen what the reaction of the British Government will be to the Commission's recommendations. There is no doubt what African reaction throughout the Continent will be. It will insist on the right of the peoples of Nyasaland and the Rhodesias to free themselves from the European dictatorship which masquerades as partnership through the Federation.

In a few weeks' time this issue will dwarf the Congo.

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Fenner Brockway is attending the independence celebrations in Nigeria. His next article will describe this great event and its significance.

English people support

Self-government  
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Life and Work for Peace," followed by a programme of songs by Irene Baker (mezzo soprano) and Luciano Pecchiari (tenor). Refreshments. Peace News.

SOUTHAMPTON: 7.30 p.m. Friends Mtg. H., Ordnance Rd. Wallace Hancock, "The Assumptions of Pacifism." For/PPU.

Saturday, October 8

Bristol: 2 p.m. Hockfield Friends H. 200

## DIARY

Send notices to arrive first post Monday. Include Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of



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**IF YOU SHOP** at a Co-Op., please give this number when making your next purchase: L336943. Your dividend will then be gratefully received by the Secretary, Peace News, 5 Caledonian Rd., London, N.1.

**PEACE NEWS AND HOUSMANS BOOKSHOP** welcome visitors 9.30 to 6 p.m. Monday to Friday, to 1 p.m. on Saturday. Voluntary work always available. Peace literature, books of all kinds, personal-commercial stationery, greetings cards, etc., on sale.

**STRAND UNITARIAN CHURCH**—A new Church based on racial and social brotherhood. Opening at Essex Hall, Essex Street, Strand (opposite Law Courts), London, on Sunday next, Oct. 2, at 6.30 p.m. Addresses by Sir Adrian Boulton (President), Rev. Robert Taylor and Dr. Jeremy Goring, MA. You are cordially invited.

**WANTED—BEDSITTING ROOM,** London. Professional woman. Pacifist. D. Hirschfield, 6 Avenue Rd., St. Albans.

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## LITERATURE

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**QUAKERISM.** Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to Friends Home Service Ctee., Friends House, Euston Rd., London, N.W.1.

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**VOLUNTARY HELPERS** urgently needed at Peace News office for Christmas card fund-raising work. House 9.30-6 p.m., Mon., Wed., Fri. to 9 p.m. 5 Caledonian Rd., London, N.1 (TERminus 8248).

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## Friday, September 30

**LEEDS 1:** 2.30 p.m. Leeds Law Society Institute, 1 Albion Pl. N.E. Local Tribunal for COs.

**LEWES:** 7.30 p.m. Town Hall. Meeting—Mervyn Jones. CND.

**LONDON, W.8:** 10.30 a.m. & 1.15 p.m. Town Hall, Kensington. London Local Tribunal for COs. Public admitted.

**NEWCASTLE:** 7.45 p.m. City Hall. Mass Rally. Speakers: John Collins, Ian Mikardo, John Stonehouse, A. J. P. Taylor. Adm. 1s. CND.

## Saturday, October 1

**LEICESTER:** 7.45 p.m. 30 Pinfold, Braunstone. (Bus—Midland Red 122.) Mrs. P. Sawyer, "South African Experiences." PPU.

**PETTS WOOD, Kent:** 3-6.45 p.m. G. E. A. Hall, Woodhurst Ave. One-day School. Michael Craft and David Roth. Fee incl. tea 2s. 6d. to Ron Huzzard, 37 Hollingworth Rd., Petts Wood, CND.

## Sunday, October 2

**BRADFORD:** Demonstration at Labour Party Conference, Scarborough. Coach leaves 10 a.m. Ritz Cinema. Bookings to: Alick South, 22 Park Grove, Bradford. CND.

**LONDON, S.E.9:** 7.30 p.m. 45 Glenlea Rd., Eltham Park. (Mr. & Mrs. Roach.) Formation of New Group. All welcome. Sidcup/Eltham PPU.

**LONDON, W.C.2:** 2-6 p.m. Kenilworth Hotel, Gt. Russell St. Half-day School. "The End of an Illusion." Don Bannister, PhD, J. Allen Skinner. Tickets 2s. 6d. from Common Wealth, 12 High St., N.W.3.

**SCARBOROUGH:** 2.30 p.m. Assemble Westwood Car Park. Anti-H-bomb March and Open Air Mtg. Canon Collins, John Horner. CND.

## Monday, October 3

**LONDON, W.2:** 7.45 p.m. 16 Westbourne Park Rd. (Porchester Rd. end). J. Allen Skinner, "Current Affairs." Porchester PPU.

**Monday, October 3—Saturday, October 22**  
**RICHMOND:** Richmond Hill Gallery, 47 Hill Rise. Exhibition of paintings by Anthony Bates.

## Tuesday, October 4

**PLYMOUTH:** 7.45 p.m. Astor Hall, YMCA, Armada Way. Public Mtg.—"Britain and the H-Bomb." Speakers: Sir Richard Acland, Terence Heelas. CND.

**SCARBOROUGH:** 7.30 p.m. Public Library, Vernon Rd. Peace Rally. Speakers: Frank Allaun, Joyce Butler, Leslie Hale, Emrys Hughes, John Horner. Tickets 1s. from Sec., 24a Breakspears Rd., S.E.4. Labour Peace Fellowship.

## Thursday, October 6

**LONDON, E.11:** 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd., Leytonstone. Albert Mkwandire (Movement for Colonial Freedom). "Central African Problems." PPU/For.

## Friday, October 7

**LONDON, N.1:** 7.0 p.m. Alexander Wood Room, 5 Caledonian Rd., King's Cross. Social Evening. Patrick Figgis on "Dr. Alex wood, his

Life and Work for Peace," followed by a programme of songs by Irene Baker (mezzo soprano) and Luciano Pecchiari (tenor). Refreshments. Peace News.

**SOUTHAMPTON:** 7.30 p.m. Friends Mtg. H., Ordnance Rd. Wallace Hancock, "The Assumptions of Pacifism." For/PPU.

## Saturday, October 8

**BRISTOL:** 3 p.m. Horfield Friends Ho., 300 Gloucester Rd. Western Area Rally. Speaker: Wilfred Wellock. Tea, annual mtg., sale of produce. PPU.

**LIVERPOOL:** 3.0 p.m. Friends Mtg. H., Hunter St. N.West Area Meeting. 5.0 p.m. Any Questions Session. Question Master—Bernard Rush-ton. All welcome. PPU.

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 3 p.m. at Senate Hse., University of London, Malet St. "Nuclear Energy." Prof. J. Rotblat, Dr. P. J. Lindop. Adm. 2s. All welcome.

**WEST MALLING, Kent:** 1 p.m. March to Maidstone assemblies at entrance to U.S. airfield. 5 p.m. Protest Meeting at Working Men's Club, Maidstone. Details from Mrs. Lodge, 31 Swanley Lane, Swanley. CND.

## Sunday, October 9

**LONDON, N.1:** 3.30 p.m. Peace News, 5 Caledonian Rd., King's Cross. Rose Edwards, "Pacifism and Christianity." Universal Religion—Pacifist Fellowship.

## Monday, October 10

**LONDON, S.W.1:** 7.45 p.m. Hope House, Gt. Peter St. (nr. Westminster Abbey). Discussion following Labour Party Conference led by Konni Zilliacus, MP, on "Labour and Nuclear Weapons. Where do we go from here?" Labour Peace Fellowship.

## Thursday, October 13

**LONDON, E.11:** 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. House, Bush Rd. Arthur Hadley, "Queer People." Leytonstone PPU.

## Friday, October 14

**BRISTOL:** 7 p.m. 7 Kellaway Ave., Bristol 6. Stella Toogood from California. PPU.

## Saturday, November 12—Sunday, November 13

**CRICH, Derbyshire:** "The Briars," near Matlock. Autumn Conference: "Non-Violence—the Modern Revolution." Guest Speaker Hilda von Klenze. Details from Miss E. Cullingworth, 81 Clarendon Park Road, Leicester.

## Every week!

### SATURDAYS

**LONDON, W.11:** Golborne Rd., off Portobello Market, north end. Peace Bookstall in Market. 10 a.m.-5 p.m. Helpers for two-hour shifts are needed. Apply to the Secretary, BAY 2086, or Organiser, FLA 7906. Porchester PPU.

### SUNDAYS

**GLASGOW:** 8.15 p.m. Queens Park Gates, Victoria Rd. Open-air meeting.

### SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

**LONDON:** 72 Oakley Sq., N.W.1. Week-end work camps take place whenever possible. Phone EUS 3195. Work for needy sections of the community. IVS.

### THURSDAYS

**LONDON, E.11:** 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. (near Green Man), E.10 and E.11 Group PPU.

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## 'Popular culture and personal responsibility'

Popular Culture and Personal Responsibility is the theme of a conference organised by the National Union of Teachers on October 26-28 at Church House, Westminster in London.

The conference, to study the effect of television, press and the cinema, on moral and cultural standards, will be opened by Mr. R. A. Butler, the Home Secretary.

Five hundred to six hundred people are expected to attend, including representatives from the universities, Churches, women's and youth organisations and various educational institutions.

Applications should be sent with a fee of one guinea to the Publicity Department, National Union of Teachers, Hamilton House, Mabledon Place, London, W.C.1.

## In PN next week

**BERTRAND RUSSELL** talks to PN about nuclear strategy and alternative policies. (This interview has unfortunately had to be held over from this week.)

**GEORGE ORWELL** and **JOHN MIDDLETON MURRY** corresponded in 1944 on war resistance and the Soviet Union. Extracts from their letters, never before published, appear in F. A. Lea's Book Column.

**THE BEAT GENERATION.** The third instalment of David McReynolds' series from New York.



Bill Floyd

Supporters of the Foulness prisoners, jailed for six months on May 2 for their non-violent civil disobedience at the Essex counterpart to Aldermaston, march through London's Coventry St. The sixth march is to take place on Saturday, October 8, and will assemble at Bryanston St. near Marble Arch at 11.15 a.m. under the "Operation Foulness" banner.

## NON-VIOLENT DEFENCE INSTEAD OF THE BOMB

HOW do we defend ourselves after nuclear disarmament? The question must seem irrelevant to many. Nuclear weapons are no defence anyhow, so let's rid ourselves of the imminent means to suicide before we worry about what follows. Many people would argue thus.

### PROMPTED BY THE PROMS

THE last night of the Proms is always an interesting, evening for those to whom the luck of the ballot brings the opportunity of a seat. This



But a new group that has just been set up would take them to task. It would point out that still the most frequent objection to nuclear disarmament is: what would prevent aggression and invasion if Britain were without the Bomb? Many people will not take nuclear disarmament seriously until this question is answered.

Of course there are many answers. The new organisation, the Non-violent Defence

1. A speaker on the theme be requested by peace groups and other interested organisations.
2. Interested individuals promote the aims of NDG within organisations to which they are attached.
3. People set up study groups to consider the issues involved.
4. Graduates and specialists in many fields undertake research into the various aspects involved.
5. Funds be contributed for such research and the promotion of NDG aims.

Information concerning NDG and a

—By Sybil Morrison—

## Words! Words! Words!

... a difficult situation would arise. It would mean that for the first time in the history of the Party (Labour) they would be going pacifist—or, if you prefer, neutralist.—Hugh Gaitskell, MP.

LANGUAGE was born and gradually evolved through the necessity for communication between human beings, and words are part of any given language, deriving from older languages, and emerging in new ways during the processes of time and change. Perhaps, however, the use of words without definition has never been so prevalent as to-day.

When Mr. Gaitskell says "pacifism" it is certain that he does not mean what I mean when I use the word, yet this word "pacifism" has never been so bandied around as it has been in recent months. Some people seem to think this is a good thing, and that it is better for the word to be used wrongly than not to be used at all. This, in my own view, is questionable; it is possible that such mis-use makes it more, not less, difficult for pacifist propaganda to be understood.

Mr. Gaitskell seems to imply that there is little difference between "pacifism" and "neutralism," and that it is merely a question of describing the same policy with whichever of the two words happens to be preferred.

When Alice asked Humpty Dumpty what he meant by "glory," he replied: "I meant there's a nice knock-down argument for you." Those of you who know "Alice" will remember what a singularly persistent child she is and when she very rightly points out that "glory" does not mean that at all, Humpty Dumpty, like any dictator, replies: "When I use a word it means just what I choose it to mean, neither more nor less."



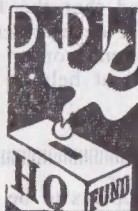
In spite of this Hitler-like remark, that phenomenal child pursues the subject with dogged perseverance, and says with rational objectivity: "The question is whether you



**HOW** do we defend ourselves after nuclear disarmament? The question must seem irrelevant to many. Nuclear weapons are no defence anyhow, so let's rid ourselves of the imminent means to suicide before we worry about what follows. Many people would argue thus.

## PROMPTED BY THE PROMS

**T**HE last night of the Proms is always an interesting, not to say exciting, evening for those to whom the luck of the ballot brings the opportunity of a seat. This year it was particularly interesting for pacifists because Colin Horsley, who is one of us, was playing the solo part in the Saint-Saëns concerto.



The younger members of what Sir Malcolm Sargent called "the groundlings and the gods" displayed their usual slogans, among which was "Proms not Bombs," although the attempt to raise a CND banner during the singing of Jerusalem was regarded by some as inappropriate and produced a mild scuffle.

It was an evening in which to produce the musical treats, the community singing and the general enthusiasm everybody played a part, including Sir Malcolm Sargent, the orchestra, the soloists and the audience.

I could not help noticing the way in which the member of the orchestra responsible for the triangle waited for the moment at which he lightly struck a note on his instrument. It might not seem to be very important compared, say, with the responsibility of the leader, and yet without it the music would have been incomplete.

There are but few who can bear the sustained responsibility of a long solo part or become conductors or leaders, but it may well be that the score suggests that now is the proper time for you to come in with your special contribution, and if it is only the single note on the triangle, it is essential to the whole result.

STUART MORRIS,

General Secretary.

Our aim for the year: £1,250.

Amount received to date: £715.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

But a new group that has just been set up would take them to task. It would point out that still the most frequent objection to nuclear disarmament is: what would prevent aggression and invasion if Britain were without the Bomb? Many people will not take nuclear disarmament seriously until this question is answered.

Of course there are many answers. The new organisation, the Non-violent Defence Group, plumps for organised non-violent defence. It finds other solutions wanting:

"A return to conventional warfare is obviously absurd, since war is waged with the most efficient military weapons, and any temporary ban on nuclear and germ warfare is most unlikely to be maintained during any major conflict.

"The traditional solution, a negotiated disarmament agreement, becomes increasingly unlikely, for the nuclear arms race and the military, economic and psychological forces it has unleashed militate against such a solution. But a policy of non-violent defence would help remove some of the fears which are an obstacle to a negotiated disarmament agreement."

The overall purpose of the Group is to seek "research at all levels into the methods of non-violent action," and to advocate the "application of such methods to the problems of resisting aggression and totalitarianism."

## Public inquiry

The Group therefore proposes a public inquiry into non-violent action as a means of defence, a similar proposal to that put forward a year or two ago by Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall. Its suggestions for research cover not only non-violence but totalitarianism, and all kinds of past resistance movements.

An outline of the area of research which is intended to be undertaken has been drawn up by the American sociologist and former Assistant Editor of Peace News, Gene Sharp, who is currently engaged on research into totalitarianism and non-violence in Oslo.

It is preparation to meet a totalitarian aggressor that most concerns the Group; resistance to already established totalitarian regimes is outside the scope of study.

The Non-violent Defence Group asks that:

1. A speaker on the theme be requested by peace groups and other interested organisations.
2. Interested individuals promote the aims of NDG within organisations to which they are attached.
3. People set up study groups to consider the issues involved.
4. Graduates and specialists in many fields undertake research into the various aspects involved.
5. Funds be contributed for such research and the promotion of NDG aims.

Information concerning NDG and a statement of its aims may be had from its Secretary, Terence Chivers, 20 Cholwell Rd., Stevenage, Herts.

## Sam Walsh

**SAM WALSH**, who survived the battle of Passchendale in 1917, collapsed and died on Monday last week at the age of 62.



Active in the anti-war movement right up to the time of his death, he served on the Council, Executive and other committees of the Peace Pledge Union.

Besides his work for pacifism, the man who once wrote that he "strode eagerly to enlist in the Army at the Town Hall when 18, and rode royally in a bath-chair from the infirmary home on my twenty - first birthday," inter-

ested himself in the welfare of his fellow members in the British Limbless Ex-Servicemen's Association, becoming President of the Bolton Branch and later Chairman of the Exeter Branch.

When—eight years ago—he left the Lancashire town in which he had lived for 50 years to move to Devon, the Bolton Evening News described him as "one of the best known men in Bolton."

When Alice asked Humpty Dumpty what he meant by "glory," he replied: "I meant there's a nice knock-down argument for you." Those of you who know "Alice" will remember what a singularly persistent child she is and when she very rightly points out that "glory" does not mean that at all, Humpty Dumpty, like any dictator, replies: "When I use a word it means just what I choose it to mean, neither more nor less."

★

In spite of this Hitler-like remark, that phenomenal child pursues the subject with dogged perseverance, and says with rational objectivity: "The question is whether you can make words mean so many different things?"

"The question is," says Humpty Dumpty, with equal determination, "which is to be master—that's all."

It is the "that's all" which is perhaps the most wonderful of all wonderful understatements. Lewis Carroll could scarcely have written this penetrating comment so many years ago without having suffered some of the difficulties from which we suffer to-day in the persistent and almost dictatorial mis-use of words.

The Correspondence Editor of the *Observer*, who has refused to continue the discussion started last week by Stuart Morris in regard to the statement that Frank Cousins was "an unavowed pacifist," has written these words in a personal letter to me: "It is certainly true that Mr. Cousins is not a pacifist in the full sense."

The implication appears to be that it is possible to be a pacifist in a half sense! If it were to be said that a person was a total abstainer it would surely not be possible to argue that he was not a total abstainer in "the full sense." What, in fact, would it mean? That he drank beer but not spirits? That he drank on Saturday but not on Sunday? That he drank only one pint or simply never drank too much? It would be possible to go on with this nonsense for ever; the point is that the word "nonsense" in this case is the right one for it does not make any sense at all.

Nor does it make any sense in regard to pacifism. Pacifists may differ as to how their convictions should be translated into terms of action, but they do not differ in their basic and absolute rejection of war. Mr. Gaitskell is right, therefore, when he says the Labour Party has never been pacifist, but he is wrong when he implies that to be neutral in a dispute is synonymous with the total renunciation of war. Pacifists must be as persistent as Alice in countering the Humpty-Dumpty of the world; pacifism must be understood if it is to be achieved.



## Learning from mistakes

AT the time of writing Mr. Eisenhower and Mr. Khrushchev have both addressed the General Assembly of the United Nations and Mr. Macmillan is still on his way there. Since, however, General de Gaulle shows no signs of also making the trip to New York, there is unlikely to be any attempt to re-convene a "Summit Conference."

Indeed, on the face of it, it is difficult to see that any such meeting could fare any better than the one which failed so dismally to get off the ground in Paris, for it was not only what was said but the mood in which it was said that the two principal speakers showed that the hostilities had not diminished with the passing of the months.

The first part of Mr. Eisenhower's speech was remarkable not merely because it was devoted to Africa and to the Congo in particular, but because of its apparent desire to isolate that continent from the Cold War by means of a United Nations guarantee of the security of its constituent nations.

It is in this perhaps rather than the large-scale economic aid for which he asked that the President showed signs that American foreign policy is capable of learning from its own mistakes—without, perhaps realising that it is doing so.

For it is only some four years ago, following the Suez crisis, that, more or less unasked, the United States endeavoured to neutralise the Mediterranean area by extending a form of the Monroe Doctrine to it while throughout the era of Mr. Dulles it was assumed that the best way of opposing Russia was by ringing her with countries attached by either bilateral or multi-lateral alliances to the United States. With the exception of the European alliance, neither system yielded either the gratitude or the immunity which the States felt were their due.

## A fresh start?

AFRICA brought the possibility of a fresh start, and an article in *Foreign Affairs* (October, 1959) under the title "Arms for Africa" indicated the direction of the new thinking. It pointed to the dangers which an extension of US military interests to Africa might involve and concluded that since either the giving or the withholding of arms from African states might equally disrupt the stability of the continent, the best solution would be for the U.S.A. to support the establishment through the UN of international guarantee for Africa against external aggression and externally supported subversion.

This Mr. Eisenhower has now done, and while it would be naïve to suppose that the welfare of the African states weighs more with him than the possibility of denying their support to Mr. Khrushchev, the scheme itself

## COMMENTARY

by

Eric Baker

deserves examination not only for its own sake, but because it marks a significant development in US policy.

Mr. Khrushchev, on the contrary, although he has burnt his fingers once or twice in Africa, already has not yet, apparently, learnt his lesson. Despite the expulsion of his diplomats from the Congo and despite the unanimous refusal of the African powers to support the Russian condemnation of the Secretary General, Mr. Khrushchev took on himself with relish the rôle of champion of the subject peoples of Africa and urged not only immediate and sovereign independence for all trusteeship countries but international support by means of "moral, material and other assistance" for the colonies in their struggle against the metropolitan powers. It is true that the Algerian war at one end of the continent and South African mis-government at the other strain to its uttermost the rule which prevents the UN from intervening uninvited in the domestic concerns of any country. But the problem is not to be solved by turning every colonial war into an international one.

## Moment of truth

THE second principal topic of both speeches was disarmament. Mr. Eisenhower's included proposals for inspection, for preventing the spread of nuclear weapons to other powers and for the demilitarisation of outer space.

Mr. Khrushchev, on the other hand, repeated the demand which he made a year ago at the UN for the abolition of all arms and the disbanding of all troops within four years and by three stages.

Any hope that the plan might have even the remotest opportunity of being seriously studied was, unfortunately, dashed by the discovery that within twelve months and for no declared reason, the Soviet order of priorities had altered radically and that whereas twelve months ago the disbandment of troops and the destruction of conventional weapons came in the first part of the plan and the abolition of nuclear, chemical and bacteriological weapons in the last, to-day the order is reversed.

It is not this alone, however, that indicates that we have not yet reached the point at which a comprehensive disarmament plan is at all likely. It is rather the deliberate care which Mr. Eisenhower has taken not to meet the Russian Prime Minister.

The President's remark that the important issue was not technical feasibility but political willingness was—

whatever its ulterior purpose—nearer the sober truth than Mr. Khrushchev's peroration on "a world free of arms, free of wars." But it was also an ironical comment on the American President's "political willingness" to give his own technical proposals a chance, that his movements were carefully timed in the UN building to ensure that he should be saved the embarrassment of even a chance encounter with the man whose willingness to co-operate alone can give them "feasibility."

## Unseen by Mr. Gaitskell

MEANWHILE, Mr. Gaitskell, indulging in a preliminary canter before the Scarborough Conference, reaffirmed his belief in nuclear weapons and in alliances based on nuclear weapons, and warned the Labour Party about the danger of going pacifist.

His actual words were both more considered and more considerate than the headlines would lead one to believe, but the performance was nevertheless depressing by reason of its complete lack of original thought.

There were the old arguments about the need to stand by alliances, about the indissoluble connection between political influence and the possession of nuclear deterrent and about the illogicalities of the CND case.

But no recognition of the inconsistencies of the opposite case, of the irreconcilables which military planners who cannot afford to ignore distasteful possibilities have to struggle with—how to restrict their dependence on nuclear weapons and, at the same time, avoid an increase of expenditure on conventional armaments which would be for the democracies, anyway, politically damaging, or how to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons to militarily "unsophisticated" countries—or even more acutely, how to deal with the German demand for equality of military equipment.

Mr. Gaitskell's earnest advocacy of arguments which are indistinguishable from those used by the Prime Minister is an eloquent commentary on the situation which is summed up so pithily by Mark Abrams in his Penguin survey of WHY LABOUR LOST ELECTIONS when he says of those whom he questioned that, especially among the young people, the "ignorance of Labour policy was the most striking aspect of their replies."

## A welcome initiative

ONE final cheering piece of news is that the Ford Foundation has taken the initiative in setting up in Britain the Overseas Development Institute of which the Director is to be William Clarke of the *Observer*.

It is not intended that the Institute itself will undertake any financing of development, but it is to be hoped that it will bring some order out of the proliferation of activities aimed at helping underdeveloped countries, if only on paper.



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## UN's radiation report

THE 15-member UN Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation opened a two-week session in Geneva on September 19. It discussed (in private) plans for the comprehensive report it is scheduled to submit to the UN General Assembly in 1962.

The Committee was set up by the Assembly in 1955 to study the effects of atomic radiation on "man and his environment." It submitted its first major report in 1958. Last year it presented a progress report to the Assembly, and another progress report is expected this year.

Among its main conclusions, the 1958 report found that "even the smallest amounts of radiation are liable to cause deleterious genetic, and perhaps also somatic effects." It emphasised, however, that "any present attempt to evaluate the effects of sources of radiation to which the world population is exposed can produce only tentative estimates with wide margins of uncertainty."

## Free movement of labour

ON the eve of its seventieth annual meeting, the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce in its 1960 report on September 20 called for the lowering of barriers preventing any race from conducting business anywhere in South Africa and for a progressive relaxation of restrictions on the free movement of labour.

The Chamber wanted the repeal of job reservation regulations and the right of trade unions, under suitable safeguards, to represent all races.

# THIS IS YOUR WORLD

## All set for nuclear war

INTER-CONTINENTAL ballistic missile sites are planned in the USA for the following Air Force bases:

ATLAS MISSILES: Fairchild, Washington; Forbes, Kansas; Offutt, Nebraska; Vandenberg, California; Walker, New Mexico; Francis E. Warren, Wyoming; Lincoln, Nebraska; Plattsburg, New York; Schilling, Kansas; Dyess, Texas; and Altus, Oklahoma (the last four will be underground sites).

TITAN: Beale, California; Larson, Washington; Mount Home, Idaho; McConnell, Kansas; Elsworth, South Dakota; Lowry, Colorado; Davis Monthan, Arizona; and Little Rock, Arkansas.

MINUTEMAN: Malstrom, Montana.

A report from a special correspondent of *The Times* at Vandenberg, California, last Friday said that the desert scrub there "is now being peppered with inter-continental ballistic missile sites."

The first Atlas site became operational there a year ago. Three missiles point permanently at the sky. During the autumn the Titan ICBM is expected to become operational from Vandenberg. The contractors are now finishing the 165-foot-deep holes in which the nuclear missiles will be stored. Eventually it is planned to fire Titans direct from their holes.

The solid-fuelled Minuteman is the most "advanced" missile in prospect because it will "be at instant readiness all the time." Strategic Air Command plans to deploy these missiles underground and mounted on moving railway trucks.

"As the continental United States," the dispatch concluded, "thus begins to bristle with ICBMs which could not be recalled once they were launched, the question of control arises in its most acute form."

## Algerian war — added dissent

A DOCUMENT concerning the right of refusal to submit in the Algerian war is being circulated secretly among writers, artists and university teachers in France.

The document declares:

"We respect and consider justified the refusal to take up arms against the Algerian people.

"We respect and consider justified the conduct of Frenchmen who deem it their duty to help and protect Algerians oppressed in the name of the French people."

The purpose of the document is not to advise men "who must make up their own minds in matters of such gravity, but in order to ask those who judge them not to be deceived by the ambiguity of words and values."

It is not a public petition but is open for the signature of artists and intellectuals of every profession, 121 of whom, including Jean-Paul Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir have already signed it. The full text appeared in the *Guardian* on September 27.

There has been widespread criticism in the French press at the decision to try before a military court six Algerian Moslems charged with offences against the security of the state, at the same time as 19 French men and women whose crime

appears to be that of assisting the Algerian rebels.

The nineteenth session of the trial of the 19 had been held by last Sunday, reported the *Guardian* on September 26, and no one knows when it is likely to end.

## A Soviet Polaris?

VICE-ADMIRAL EKSTROM, commander of the US Pacific Fleet's Naval Air Force, said on September 20 that the Polaris missile would be operational with the US Navy "within the next few weeks."

Another Pacific Fleet spokesman said that the Russians are believed to be very close behind America in their ability to produce a similar weapons system. Because the coastline of America would be more vulnerable to attack than Russia, a later version of the Polaris would have a range of 2,500 miles.

A new detection system to counter nuclear submarines was now at the testing stage; it was necessary because of the submarines' ability to detect anti-submarine forces.

## Dear old pals again

A FOREIGN MINISTRY spokesman in Bonn said last Friday that an agreement between West Germany and France would probably be signed in October.

Under it the West German Army will establish supply bases in France, which it hopes to start doing early next year.

★

U-2 pilot Powers, in an open letter to the *New York Times* published in *Pravda* last Friday, insisted that he was shot down at 68,000 feet, and that his father had misunderstood him in an interview.



## Scarborough Conference

THE 1960 Scarborough Conference of the Labour Party is a vital one, as is indicated by the number of resolutions on the agenda from Constituency Parties and Trade Unions regarding disarmament and international affairs.

It is absolutely vital that all readers of *Peace News* should take every opportunity of bringing the peace issues before delegates by the sale of *Peace News* and other peace literature, support for all peace meetings and discussions with delegates.

May I bring before readers details of the Peace Rally which has been arranged by the Labour Peace Fellowship on Tuesday, October 4, at 7.30 p.m. at the Public Library, Vernon Road, Scarborough, when the speakers will include four Labour MPs—Frank Allaun, Joyce Butler, Leslie Hale and Emrys Hughes, as well as the General Secretary of the Fire Brigades Union, John Horner. Tickets are one shilling each obtainable at the Conference Hall or at the door.—DENNIS BRIAN, Gen. Sec., Labour Peace Fellowship, 24a Breakspears Rd., London, S.E.4.

## Communists and CND

MR. BROADBRIDGE has the usual Communist Party approach of superior lecturing to those who are not of his faith.

The peace movement he states must adopt Communist Party tactics if ever the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament is to become a mass movement. The British Communist Party, which now has a smaller membership than when founded 40-odd years ago, surely is the least entitled to instruct CND on how to become a mass movement.

Fear of the name Communist for some advocates of CND, states Mr. Broadbridge, is greater than their support for the cause of CND. This again is the familiar Communist Party approach—that cowardice is the reason for not associating with them. Surely he can comprehend that it is due

## St. Christopher School

### LETCHWORTH

A school community of some 400 boys and girls (between 5 and 18 years) and 100 adults practising education on sane and successful modern

# Letters to the Editor

to the antics of the British Communist Party—and I am only concerned with the British Communist Party—that people refuse to associate with them.

I do not want to lengthen unnecessarily this letter by detailing all the twists and turns of the British Communist Party which are always justified by expediency, but I do want to issue a warning to all local CND Groups that the entry of the local Communist Party into their ranks means the introduction of unnecessary dissension from the main purpose for which CND was formed, introducing in its stead campaigns for the support of policies decided outside this country.—H. BAKER, 30 Brookvale Rd., Olton, Solihull, Yorks.

## Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact

YOUR correspondent Harry Stirling repeats the statement—so often made—that the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact involved an agreement to divide Poland.

Has the text of the Pact ever been published? If not, why not? Its publication would clear the air.—F. O'HANLON, *Hayling Rise, Worthing, Sussex.*

## Youth and war

BEING a "teen-ager" of the early Twenties I find it difficult to understand the acceptance of, and in many cases enthusiasm for, the acquisitive society and the outmoded thinking that seeks to prevent war by preparing for it by so many of the younger generation today.

One would have thought, I reasoned, that the events of the past 40 years would have banished for ever the false values that were the cause of so much injustice, misery, stupidity and tragedy. A knowledge of world history from say the year 1900 and a realisation of the power of destruction of modern weapons might be expected to inspire the youth of today with far greater zeal for the building of the New Jerusalem on earth than characterised us, especially since they found the foundations well and truly laid and a plentiful supply of building material accumulated. But it is not so.

Despite the increasing number of youthful protest marchers against the H-bomb, apartheid, ugly building, etc., the majority of our youth not only accept, but support, the forces of reaction which are growing

works of the 'tween-war years into the hands of every youth of today, and especially into those of the anti-nuclear war campaigners. So many of them, I find, while shocked to the core by what they have learned of the horrors of nuclear warfare, still feel that some kinds of war are not only necessary and inevitable, but even desirable, honourable and glorious; and so few of them recognise the defects in our way of life that lead inevitably to war.—BOB WALSH, 154 Droop St., London, W.10.

## Needed for study

IN connection with my studies of non-violent resistance, I need the following books which are now out of print:

Martin Buber, *PATHS IN UTOPIA*; Benjamin Tucker, *INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY*; Clarence Marsh Case, *NON-VIOLENT COERCION*; E. T. Hiller, *THE STRIKE*; Bart de Ligt, *THE CONQUEST OF VIOLENCE*; John Steuben, *STRIKE STRATEGY*; Wilfred Harris Crook, *THE GENERAL STRIKE*; I. B. Tabata, *THE BOYCOTT AS WEAPON OF STRUGGLE*; William Mellor, *DIRECT ACTION*; Romiro De

# A RADICAL ARTIST

*Passionella and Other Stories*, by Jules Feiffer. Collins, 10s. 6d.

THE cartoonist Feiffer has established himself as one of the leading critics of society, and he considerably increases his reputation in this book.

It contains four stories which are much longer than his more familiar newspaper work. "Passionella" is a modern Cinderella tale with a background of phoney art and the cinema's technique of the star build-up. Another piece tells the story of the only inhabitant of the moon and how he faced up to space probes. "Boom," an account of man's experiments with nuclear explosions, hits out at governments, Top Brass, advertising, fall-out and much else.

But perhaps the greatest of a magnificent quartet may be "Munro," a quite brilliant

PEACE NEWS, September 30th, 1960—5

Maeztu, AUTHORITY, LIBERTY AND FUNCTION.

If there are readers possessing these books who do not need them and are willing either to contribute them for research or to sell them at a reasonable price, would they kindly write to me?—GENE SHARP, Institute for Social Research, Munthesgate 31, Oslo, Norway.

## Balloon goes West to send delegates East

A "BAN THE BOMB" slogan floated over Dublin last Saturday, painted on a 6-foot diameter meteorological balloon.

It was released during a garden fête organised by the Irish Pacifist Movement. It is hoped that the gas-filled balloon will travel as far as the USA.

"The fête was well attended and a great success," Lucy D. Kingston, a Dublin Quaker, told *Peace News*.

"We got a substantial amount towards the expenses of our delegate to the War Resisters' International Conference at Gandhigram in India. The passage money is assured."

take-off of the military. The arrival of the four-year-old's call-up papers opens the way for riotous and devastating humour. There are laughs on every page, and so much to contemplate on putting the book down that it has to be read many times over.

Feiffer has real talent, and his social comment goes deep. The victims of his satire are always central to present-day life. His originality and insight make him an artist of the first importance.

He has now produced a telling collection which even improves on his success of last year, *SICK, SICK, SICK*. No one could ask for a better Christmas present. He'll be attacking that business racket next.

C. F.

# Condemned



advocates of CND, states Mr. Broadbridge, is greater than their support for the cause of CND. This again is the familiar Communist Party approach—that cowardice is the reason for not associating with them. Surely he can comprehend that it is due

## St. Christopher School LETCHEWORTH

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## P N. BROADSHEET

### Slavery in S. Africa

A two-page Broadsheet reprinting the articles by Z. Sonkosi in PN Sept. 23 is available at 7s. 6d. a 100, £3 a 1,000, single copies 3d. each—all prices post free.

PN Publications Dept.,  
5 Caledonian Rd., London, N.1.

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Despite the increasing number of youthful protest marchers against the H-bomb, apartheid, ugly building, etc., the majority of our youth not only accept, but support, the forces of reaction which are growing daily stronger. On reflection, I believe the youth of my day had an advantage over today's. We suffered personally; we had the example of a determined and idealistic Labour movement, uncompromised and uncorrupted, and we had the works of the disillusioned survivors of the "Lost Generation," who sought in vain the "Home fit for Heroes" that was promised to them.

I have just been re-reading Robert Graves' GOODBYE TO ALL THAT. I wish I could put a copy of this and other literary

## Penguin's twentyfifth

PENGUIN BOOKS, the publishers who pioneered the paperback revolution, celebrated their twenty-fifth birthday yesterday (Thursday) by putting out 25 titles in one day.

They include THE GATHERING STORM, by Sir Winston Churchill (7s. 6d.); THE COMMON SENSE OF SCIENCE, by Dr. J. Bronowski (3s. 6d.); Sir Kenneth Clark's THE NUDE, with nearly 300 illustrations (9s. 6d.); THE PENGUIN DICTIONARY OF QUOTATIONS, a new compilation by J. M. and M. J. Cohen (10s. 6d.); THE READER'S GUIDE, a guide and companion for the general reader (5s.); and THE ORGANISATION MAN, by William H. Whyte (3s. 6d.).

With the other titles these indicate something of the range of Penguins. The publishers have also put out PENGUINS PROGRESS (2s. 6d.) as an attractive and amusing record of their achievement.

Almost half of Penguin's books are now sold outside Britain. They have published altogether about 3,300 titles, of which about a third are now in print. What other publisher could have sold over 1,000,000 copies of a translation of Homer's ODYSSEY?

C.F.

It contains four stories which are much longer than his more familiar newspaper work. "Passionella" is a modern Cinderella tale with a background of phoney art and the cinema's technique of the star build-up. Another piece tells the story of the only inhabitant of the moon and how he faced up to space probes. "Boom," an account of man's experiments with nuclear explosions, hits out at governments, Top Brass, advertising, fall-out and much else.

But perhaps the greatest of a magnificent quartet may be "Munro," a quite brilliant

## Condemned to Hunger?

For many people, refugees among them, today will be another day of hunger. (The children "are reduced to eating roots of grass" reports an Algerian relief worker.) Hunger hits the young hardest. Those who are barely alive cannot wait—for them the very chance to go on breathing depends on help from overseas coming quickly.

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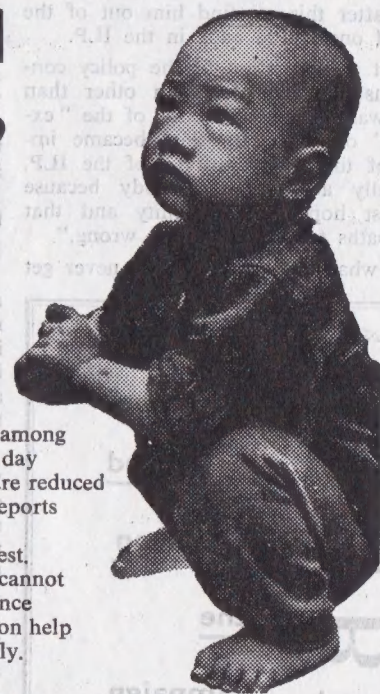
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Founder member of U.K. Committee for Algerian Refugees.  
SUPPORTERS INCLUDE—The Bishop of Southwark, Vera Brittain, Victor Gollancz, Dame Myra Hess.





HERBERT MORRISON has long been a leading figure in the Labour Party. His years cover the greater part of the period of the Party's progress from propagandist activities to participation in and control of government.

It is a melancholy reflection on reading his own account of his life that if any intelligent youngster were to decide today that he could very well make his introduction to politics by reading this account of the activities of an important politician, he would close the book with only the foggiest idea of what it was all about.

This raises the question whether Herbert Morrison himself has known; for there is a remarkable lack of indication throughout the book that he was in any way concerned with the deeper policy issues involved. If we may judge by what he has dealt with here, his political horizon seems to have stopped short at the consideration of electoral consequences.

Early in his book the author remarks: "I think I can claim that I am not an ambitious person. This may be a defect of character which has deprived me of the material benefits of life." He himself would probably not deny that he felt a good deal of pique at being by-passed for the Party leadership in succession to Attlee. But this does not seem to me to be incompatible with a basic absence of ambition, and despite the transparent humbug of the reference to the possible "defect of character" I should think this claim is essentially sincere.

★

On this assumption it becomes something of a puzzle to discern what has been motivating him throughout his life. It is very evident throughout this book it was not any deep concern with the objectives to which policy was to be directed, for except on the most superficial questions he never feels any compulsion to make clear what considerations of principle were actuating him. This vacuum is present from the beginning to the end.

Lord Morrison's introduction to political organisation was through the Independent Labour Party in 1907. Three months later he had resigned and joined the Social Democratic Federation, the Marxist forerunner of the Communist Party. A few months after this we find him out of the SDF and once more back in the ILP.

# Politician without a policy

**Herbert Morrison: An Autobiography**, by Lord Morrison of Lambeth, PC, CHS. Odhams. 30s.

beyond the term "socialism," and for its definition "an industrial and social order based on the public ownership and democratic control of the instruments of production and distribution," as embodied in a motion moved in Parliament by Philip Snowden.

The outstanding example of his disinclination to set forth the principles motivating him relates to his attitude to war and militarism during World War I and later. In the War Herbert Morrison was a conscientious objector. As he points out, the fact that he had lost the sight of one eye would actually have exempted him from military service. He was, he says, however, intent on sticking to his principles. The Tribunal before which he appeared gave him conditional exemption, which he regarded as satisfactory.

He apparently feels under no obligation to make clear what were the principles to which he was sticking and whether he was acting on a different application of the same principles in later years when he felt the necessity to support militarist policies, or whether he had changed his views and no longer felt bound by these principles.

There were, of course, numbers of those who opposed World War I who nevertheless felt constrained to support or engage in World War II, but these have generally felt, if they were discussing the matter,

never taken the trouble to acquaint himself with, or was even aware of, the body of thinking that had been going forward in the 1920s in Britain on the possibilities of developing democracy in industry, and which provided in my view the outstanding British contribution that has been made to socialist theory.

There are other forms than ambition in which excessive egotism can find expression and one of the things with which Herbert Morrison could be preoccupied is indicated by the fact that this volume contains 38 illustrations, every one of which is there because it contains a portrait of the author. (There is another, different, one on the dust cover.)

But what appears to have been the strongest motivating force in Lord Morrison's life is a desire to find scope for his

organising and administrative capacity. The ends that the organisation and the administration were to subserve has really been a secondary matter. He quotes Aneurin Bevan as having once referred to him as "a third-rate Tammany boss," and his comment on this is significant. He remarks that "the third-rate part of the description was the more objectionable!"

It was in fact unjust, for Herbert Morrison was a first-rate organiser and administrator. The great trouble with the Labour Party is that so many of those who work in it, whatever their place in the Party hierarchy, and whether or not they equal Herbert Morrison in capacity, are equally concerned with organisation and electoral success as ends in themselves.

★

This volume in fact contributes much to the explanation of why the Labour Party finds itself in its present position. It describes a life that epitomises what has now become a dominant characteristic of the Party. This characteristic is now resulting in a feverish endeavour to provide a policy that will sustain a political organisation, because hitherto the construction of the organisation has been so little concerned with the nature of the policy that was the only justification for its existence.

J. ALLEN SKINNER

## NO EARTHLY APPEAL

**Blood on the Scales**, by Leslie Hale. Jonathan Cape. 18s.

THERE is no earthly appeal possible once a criminal has been executed. Nothing can be done here to restore him to life. This basic point gives unity to the contents of Leslie Hale's new book.

It is not an anti-capital punishment tract. There are enough of these to overwhelm or sustain and encourage everybody seriously interested in this topic. This book is the more valuable because it is addressed to the general reader, who is presumed to be sufficiently conventional never to have questioned the merits and assumptions of our criminal law. It will also have an irresistible appeal to all enthusiasts of detective fiction.

Taking 14 murder cases, the author presents the evidence which was placed before the jury and asks the reader what his verdict would have been had he been a juror. In a section following each case he then



under some obligation to set out the considerations that were actuating them. Lord Morrison feels no such need.

The need for clarification, however, goes a good deal deeper than this, for Herbert



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Lord Morrison's introduction to political organisation was through the Independent Labour Party in 1907. Three months later he had resigned and joined the Social Democratic Federation, the Marxist forerunner of the Communist Party. A few months after this we find him out of the SDF and once more back in the ILP.

We get no indication of the policy considerations that actuated him other than that he was at first suspicious of the "extremism" of the SDF, then became impatient of the "moderation" of the ILP, and finally accepted that body because "the best hope was in unity and that diverse paths to our goal were wrong."

As to what that goal was, we never get

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## BOOKS

under some obligation to set out the considerations that were actuating them. Lord Morrison feels no such need.

The need for clarification, however, goes a good deal deeper than this, for Herbert Morrison had moved over to a complete acceptance of orthodox militarist assumptions. He makes it evident that he was in favour of military action against the Egyptian people and the Nasser Government, and that his criticism of Sir Anthony Eden's policy on this matter would be based on the fact that the military action proved ineffective.

He would similarly have taken military action against Persia at the time of the nationalisation of the Abadan oil wells if it had not been for the fact that "mounting an effective attacking force would take a lot of time and might therefore be a failure."

Herbert Morrison as much as any man was instrumental in settling the form of control that was to be adopted in regard to the nationalised industries. It comes therefore as something of a shock to perceive how little disposition he manifests to discuss the principles on which "public ownership and democratic control" should be founded. His discussion of the considerations that influenced him is at the most superficial level, and even includes the comment that he was not prepared to be put in Bevin's pocket.

The only concession he makes to the fact that there was a body of thought in the Labour and trade union movement that was vitally concerned in working out the principles of democracy as applied to industry is a quotation from a speech made in opposition to him by Harold Clay at the 1932 Labour Party Conference. The fact that after an expression of disapproval at the Conference the Labour movement was to move along the bureaucratic lines he was advocating, he celebrates with the phrase "It is too bad to be right in advance."

Throughout his treatment of this question it is only too evident that he had

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In the final chapter he very briefly reviews a number of cases which are too well known to be treated in full in which a considerable doubt or public anxiety arose and then proceeds to point out in a number of examples, some of them hilariously funny, the shortcomings of a number of basic dicta affecting English criminal law.



This bare summary give no indication of the immense readability of this book: in my case only the strongest domestic pressure prevented me from reading it at one sitting. In style it is reminiscent of Musorgsky's Pictures at an Exhibition. Leslie Hale has no doubt prepared so many witnesses' statements and taken so many vague "instructions" from clients who no doubt do not themselves know precisely what they want, that he is able to present each chapter at its own rhythm with its own climax, linking them by his own cool commentary of the subsequent developments in each case.

The argument against capital punishment is implicit throughout this book. It is, and this is perhaps why this book is so valuable from the reformer's point of view, never mentioned. The one disadvantage of this may be that it may divert the reader from considering the question of capital punishment and allowing his thoughts to stray in other directions—perhaps undesirable ones such as questioning the value of the jury system.

Even presuming that the reader takes the point which the author would presumably wish him to take, the impact is somewhat weakened by his departing from the English common law system and bringing in French cases, where the accused is under a



LESLIE HALE Jonathan Cape  
*Thought-provoking comments*

much greater disadvantage than he is in England, and by some of the English cases quoted being of pre-1851 vintage, when an accused man was not able to give evidence in his own defence.

In reviewing some of the maxims of criminal law in the final chapter, there is a danger that the reader may be misled by the reference to that hoary legal horror: the reasonable man on the Clapham omnibus. The bus is off course, its route lies in the fields of contract and tort.

It would have helped the logic of what follows and would not have required a change of examples if Mr. Hale had stuck to the correct rules which are "that a man is presumed to mean the natural consequences flowing from his acts," unless, of course, "he can affirmatively prove (beyond reasonable doubt) that he did not know the nature or quality of his acts or if he did so know, then that he did not know what he was doing was wrong."

Apart from the main issue there are a number of useful and thought-provoking comments on, for instance, expert witnesses and the working of the official (police) mind. Leslie Hale's avowed object in publishing this book is to prevent us from becoming complacent and to arouse concern about the possibility of errors occurring. This he does remarkably well and a good deal more besides.

For its contents alone this book is worth 18s., but it is well printed and nicely bound too.

FRANCIS DEUTSCH

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After the new Cuba

# THE NEW CASTRO

I HAVE read with interest the recent articles in *Peace News* on Cuba by Bill Worthy, an old friend of mine and colleague in the struggle against racial discrimination.

I, too, favour the achievements of the Cuban revolution, but as one who has given more than lip service to Latin-American democracy—I have worked for eight years with Dominican exiles against dictator Trujillo—I cannot go along with Bill's uncritical attitude regarding Fidel Castro's falling prey to the Russian brand of imperialism after freeing Cuba from the US variety.

While Castro cannot be blamed for turning to Russia and China for economic aid, he did not have to become an ideological puppet as part of the bargain. He could maintain a neutralist policy as have some of the African and Asian nations which have accepted Communist aid.

By being neutralist, Castro would retain the respect of the democratic Latin-American Governments, which he has been losing steadily as he has permitted himself to be sucked into the orbit of the East-West power struggle.

The climax of his decline in Latin-American popularity was the recent cen-

sure vote by the Organisation of American States. True, the US was an instigator of the resolution and in fact went to the extreme of going along with sanctions against dictator Trujillo of the Dominican Republic (after supporting him for 30 years) in order to ensure passage of the anti-Castro motion.

But it is also true that the Latin-American countries genuinely favoured the anti-Castro resolution because while they—like Cuba—are wholeheartedly against US imperialism, they do not want to become enmeshed in the Russian brand.

## Better to be neutral

By being neutralist, Castro could safeguard his land reform programme and other achievements of the revolution against Russian attempts to remould Cuba along Soviet lines. According to the false impression deliberately fostered by the US press, the Cuban co-operatives and other aspects of new Cuba are patterned on the Russian system of Communism. This is merely the stand of US big business, which views property seizure, regardless of the justification of circumstances, as the deadliest of sins.

Finally, by being neutralist, Castro would safeguard his country from the brink of

**Jim Peck in his Letter From America takes a second look at Cuba's leader.**

★

*An embrace at the United Nations: Castro with Khrushchev.*



war, a position which will become perpetual as long as he permits Cuba to be a Russian beachhead.

Castro's adherence to the Communist Party line has reached a point where on all issues he pictures Russia as the angel and the US as the villain. Russia is for peace while the US is for war, he tells mass meetings. He denounces elections and the processes of democracy as boobytraps made in USA. Anybody who deviates from

the line, regardless of his record of devotion to the revolution, is labelled a "traitor" or a "tool of US imperialism." Russian technical and ideological experts are flocking to Cuba with Castro's enthusiastic approval.

Russia is re-enacting in Cuba the role which she played in Guatemala six years ago. Meanwhile the US stands poised for a repeat performance of her role in which she supported military invasion and overthrow of the Arbenz Government. While a Cuban counterpart to Colonel Castillo Armas, who led the invasion of Guatemala, has not yet appeared on the scene, such a "liberator" would be welcomed by the powers-that-be in the US. Castro's fears of a US-backed military attack on Cuba are not unfounded.

However, a number of circumstances make such an attack less feasible than in the Guatemalan case. At that time many Latin-American countries were under Fascist-type dictators who favoured overthrow of the Arbenz régime. Today, with almost all the Latin-American countries rid of dictators, a US-sponsored military attack on Cuba would encounter almost universal opposition in the hemisphere.

## A Russian puppet

THE United Nations began its existence in 1945 with 51 member nations. Before the end of the Fifteenth General Assembly this coming December the UN may well have a total of 100 members!

Eighteen new nations—all African except Cyprus—will be admitted by the forthcoming General Assembly, and 15 or 16 of these became voting members during the first few days of the session beginning on September 20.

What is the precise meaning of this burgeoning number of African states? How will they affect the balance of power in the world organisation? What will this mean to problems of war and peace, including the future of the still-unfree parts of Africa—Algeria and southern Africa?

## The U.N. reaches 100

By Homer A. Jack

pendent in 1961 is that she may wait for Kenya and Uganda to be free in order to form an East African Federation.) In addition, 1961-63 ought to witness eight or ten additional independent African States: Algeria, Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique—and why not South Africa and South West Africa?

The UN Secretariat has been hard at work enlarging the voting capacity of

projects. On the other hand, what should be the pet projects of humanity—meaningful disarmament and greatly increased economic aid—might much more easily be approved by the General Assembly.

Third, a UN caucusing group is a political umbrella. A large Asian-African umbrella must be constructed to cover 46 nations, ranging from the Philippines in the East to Senegal on the West, not to mention the divergences in ideological points on the compass. There may be serious rifts in Afro-Asian unity in the future; it would be unusual if there were not. There have previously been some differences, but heretofore the post-Bandung, Afro-Asian mystique has been over-riding.

Fourth, the sheer growth in membership of the UN demands a re-evaluation of the



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The year 1959 ended with the UN encompassing nine independent African states as members: Ethiopia, Liberia, United Arab Republic, Libya (joining the UN in 1952), the Sudan (1956), Tunisia (1956), Morocco (1956), Ghana (1957), and Guinea (1958). While the Union of South Africa is a Charter Member of the UN and makes her own foreign policy, she is usually not included in any such list of independent African states because the 11,000,000 non-White persons out of her total population of 14,000,000 cannot vote.

## 26 AFRICAN STATES

The "Africa Year 1960" began with the UN Security Council on January 26 recommending to the General Assembly the membership of the State of Cameroun. Fourteen other states were "cleared" by the Security Council in this order: Togo, Mali, Malagasy (Madagascar), Somalia, Republic of the Congo (formerly Belgium Congo), Dahomey, Niger, Upper Volta, Ivory Coast, Congo Republic (formerly part of French Equatorial Africa), Chad, Gabon, Central African Republic, and Cyprus.

The Federation of Mali has floundered and it is now expected that Senegal and the former French Soudan will each apply for UN membership. Nigeria will apply for membership after her independence on October 1 and Mauritania is now slated for freedom on November 28, although this move is being contested by Morocco.

It is thus possible that before the 15th Assembly adjourns in mid-December the number of independent African states will increase from nine to 26. (In addition, Sierra Leone is due to be independent in the spring of 1961 and it appears that the only reason Tanganyika will not be inde-

# reaches 100

## By Homer A. Jack

pendent in 1961 is that she may wait for Kenya and Uganda to be free in order to form an East African Federation.) In addition, 1961-63 ought to witness eight or ten additional independent African States: Algeria, Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique—and why not South Africa and South West Africa?

The UN Secretariat has been hard at work enlarging the seating capacity of many of the meeting rooms and readying new flag-poles (one for every Member State). Friendly Americans have been helping new missions to the UN from Africa to find offices, and their personnel living accommodation. More important, diplomats with their scratch-pads are figuring out the new balances of power in the General Assembly. Africa will have more members—26—than any other continent. Today Latin America and Asia each has 20 members.

The growth of the membership of the UN, especially from the new African nations, will have at least four widespread repercussions on the whole organisation.

First, "African items" will be more easily approved by the General Assembly—those items phrased in a way that the UN can have legitimate jurisdiction. For example, during the Fourteenth General Assembly, 55 nations were needed to pass any motion requiring a two-thirds vote. Africa and Asia could, in 1959, only muster 29 votes within its own caucusing bloc. And only 28 nations could effectively veto an important resolution—such as that on Algeria debated in December, 1959.

By the end of the Fifteenth session in December, 1960, however, the Afro-Asian bloc could account for 46 votes of a necessary 67 votes for a two-thirds majority. Thus one can predict that such items as Algeria will have smoother sailing in the General Assembly than ever before.

Second, neutralism will increase in the UN as the bloc of basically uncommitted nations rises and as the relative strength of the pro-Communist bloc and the pro-Western bloc diminishes. Put another way, the Soviets, as the Americans, will have to work harder in the halls of the UN to produce meaningful coalitions to pass their pet

approved by the General Assembly.

Third, a UN caucusing group is a political umbrella. A large Asian-African umbrella must be constructed to cover 46 nations, ranging from the Philippines in the East to Senegal on the West, not to mention the divergences in ideological points on the compass. There may be serious rifts in Afro-Asian unity in the future; it would be unusual if there were not. There have previously been some differences, but heretofore the post-Bandung, Afro-Asian mystique has been over-riding.

Fourth, the sheer growth in membership of the UN demands a re-evaluation of the composition of the Security Council and other bodies. The Security Council consists of five permanent members—the US, the UK, USSR, France and "China"—and six rotating or temporary members, the latter representing presumably the remaining UN members.

With almost a double UN membership, shouldn't the size of the Security Council increase—and appear less like a Big Nation or White Man's Club? Certainly the 46 nations of Asia and Africa should have permanent representation other than Taiwan and non-permanent representation greater than one seat (now held by Tunisia) plus an occasional seat from a Commonwealth country (at the moment held by Ceylon).

## THE CHINA QUESTION

When one tampers with the UN Charter one opens a Pandora's box out of which first pops mainland China. Can anything be done of substance in the UN or with its machinery without coming to grips with the "China problem"?

As a matter of fact, perhaps the most important result of the increase of African states in the UN is that one day soon mainland China will be voted the seat of Formosa China, not because many of the African States have any special love for Communist China, but because they want to see all nations sit in the increasingly crowded UN chambers. Then the organisation in the glass house on New York's East River, with African help, will truly become the United Nations.

*Homer A. Jack, Editor of the American magazine, Africa Today, observes UN affairs regularly for the American Committee on Africa.*

the powers-that-be in the US. Castro's fears of a US-backed military attack on Cuba are not unfounded.

However, a number of circumstances make such an attack less feasible than in the Guatemalan case. At that time many Latin-American countries were under Fascist-type dictators who favoured overthrow of the Arbenz régime. Today, with almost all the Latin-American countries rid of dictators, a US-sponsored military attack on Cuba would encounter almost universal opposition in the hemisphere.

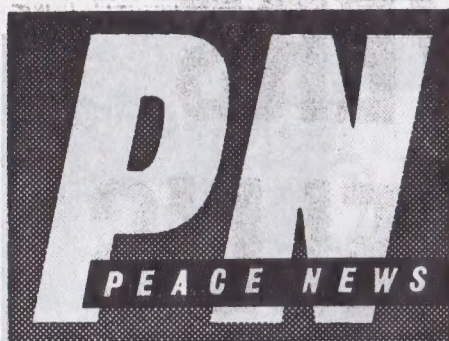
## A Russian puppet

Also, to organise a military force such as the one which Castillo Armas led against Guatemala would be difficult, since the anti-Castro exiles are of completely divergent viewpoints. They range from completely Fascist, pro-Batista refugees to thorough-going anti-Fascists who have broken with Castro somewhere along the line—plus many groups in between these extremes. In addition, while it is improbable that the Russians would fulfil their promise to counter-attack the US with missiles in the event of a US-sponsored invasion of Cuba, the threat probably gives the US pause.

Meanwhile, the cold war which the US declared against Castro as soon as he came to power—and in which Castro has retaliated with a vengeance—continues to rage. The US press incites against Castro and the Cuban press incites against the US.

I have sided with Castro from the start. However, such a position becomes untenable for an opponent of totalitarianism as Castro permits himself to become a Russian puppet. A Cuban friend of mine whom I helped in initiating picket demonstrations at the United Nations when dictator Batista was still in power, has joined one of the anti-Fascist, anti-Castro groups. He was previously an ardent supporter of Castro and still backs the principles of the Cuban revolution. There are many Cubans like him—some of whom actually fought alongside Castro in the Sierra Maestre mountains. The dilemma is similar to that in republican Spain at the juncture of the civil war when the Socialists, Anarchists, Republicans, etc., were purged and the Communists seized complete control. The achievements of the Cuban revolution are threatened from inside Cuba by Russian imperialism and from outside Cuba by US imperialism.





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## Swedish Bomb

■ FROM PAGE ONE

even if there are some—including the Swedish Communists—who think that he was somewhat too optimistic.

Military circles in Sweden (who are not barred from making political pronouncements) regarded the decision as a green light to go ahead with preparations for "atomic defence." Mr. Gaitskell tends to accept this interpretation too.

The Swedish Government was anxious to shelve the whole question during the election campaign. It refused to make any pronouncements in the pre-election TV debates and the Commander-in-Chief of the Swedish army had earlier been disowned by the Government for his interpretation of the parliamentary decision.

In fact, the question of nuclear weapons did not become an issue in the election campaign, and this explains the fact that the "Progressive Union"—the new party, founded as the political expression of the Swedish equivalent to the British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament—came bottom of the poll and failed to get any seats.

It must be noted that the "Progressive Union" was not given any radio or TV time. The Communists were, however, and used it for the purpose of presenting themselves as the only party opposing the A-bomb. The increase in Communist votes (from 3.4 to 4.6 per cent of the electorate) was apparently due to this.

## NEUTRALITY

Questions of foreign policy did not enter the election campaign either. At a time when the greater part of the British press proclaims allegiance to NATO, and when "neutral" has almost become a word of abuse almost everyone in Sweden is for

London conference on the fighting spirit

# THE WAR IN OUR MIDST

PACIFISM is more than the rejection of war; it is the desire to create the sort of society in which war can have no place. This was the concept that prevailed at the London conference entitled "Pacifism and the Fighting Spirit," chaired by Trefor Davies last weekend.

The conference which was organised by the London and South-East Area of the Peace Pledge Union listened attentively to the first speaker, Dorothy Matthews, on the theme "How to Use the Fighting Spirit," reports David Lane. She viewed pacifism and the fighting force as one form of energy showing itself in different ways.

The method of love might be very slow at times, but it was the only one which worked in the long run or had any lasting effect. We had to maintain a belief in change.

The next speaker—Dr. Otto Shaw on the subject "The Proper Use of Aggression with Unhappy Adolescents"—spoke from

## Peace initiatives

THE campaign to publicise our work for peace education is gathering momentum. This week has added Cardiff, Llanelly, Whitley Bay, Tonbridge, Amesbury and Sharpethorne to the towns and villages where our new poster will be displayed.

But there are many gaps in our drive to make Britain more "Peace News" conscious. Let us have a great Monday morning flood of requests for posters (30in. x 20in. and 15in. x 10in.), publicity material, and PN supplies for newsagents display and local distribution.

Peacemakers must take peace initiatives. We dare not leave solely to newsagents and to what limited press publicity we can afford the task of arousing the public to support us. As the universities and colleges reassemble, as autumn meetings and activities get going, and as the outworn diplomacy of the world gets more

his wide experience as Headmaster of the only grammar school for the psychological treatment and education of maladjusted boys in England.

Commenting on the rise of aggressive crimes among the 17-30 age group, Dr. Shaw had sharp words for the lighthearted and irresponsible crime reportage of the press and television. Maladjustment in children was not surprising in a society which taught its members to worship money and property more than people, he pointed out. Most of the children who got into trouble lacked love and security in their lives.

It was no use flogging young criminals as this merely confirmed them in their way of life. Rather people could help such children by giving them the love and sense of security they needed.

## Too early to school

"Towards Pacifism from the Nursery Age" was the topic of the next speaker, Marjorie Mitchell.

A lecturer in Health Education and mother of two, Marjorie Mitchell pointed to the danger of sending children to school too early. This could cause frustrations and aggressions. Children should not be sent to school when they reached a certain age but when they achieved a particular standard.

Another danger was that of overlooking the child's needs in the 7-11 age group at which period they caused little real trouble. Yet these were formative years that could seriously affect later life.

The final speaker, Stuart Morris, General Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union, said there was a need for study in the field of non-violence. During his talk on the theme of "Violence and the Fighting Spirit" he examined the idea of direct action which he felt could be useful if people approached it without closed minds, and rounded off the conference by summing up the weekend's discussion.

## Teachers' responsibility

## Bertrand Russell calls for new policies

By HELEN KENNING

"ANYONE who thinks that by using H-bombs you can get a victory—as Khrushchev and Eisenhower seem to think—is either ignorant or extraordinarily wicked. Different policies must be adopted if the human race is to survive."

So said Bertrand Russell last Saturday to the mass rally in Trafalgar Square at the end of the Edinburgh-London Protest.

About 5,000 people were in the Square to welcome the marchers in with banners and nuclear disarmament balloons bearing the slogans "Let Britain Lead," "Fall-out Kills," "There is still time."

On the last stretch of the march the 50 or 60 hard core marchers, who were mostly in their teens, were joined by many hundreds of others. By the time they reached the Square, led by the Arliston Colliery Pipe Band, numbers had grown to 4,000.

During their 21-day journey from Edinburgh, which was intended mainly as a recruiting drive, 11 new youth groups had been formed.

Bertrand Russell was cheered by the crowd as he rose to speak.

"Whether we meet here again next year depends on the politicians and statesmen who control the push-button. I hope we shall meet again next year; if not here then in prison."

## We don't need H-bombs

The recent U-2 flight had stirred up "all the language of the cold war, which each side knows by heart and can talk in its sleep." The notice over the headquarters of the Strategic Air Command, "Our Profession is Peace," reminded him of the sign at Auschwitz—"Salvation through Labour." Auschwitz, however, was not intended for the extermination of all mankind.

He denied that we need H-bombs to "protect" us. "We are much safer without them than with them." And finally "it is ignoble to owe our day by day safety to the fact that by pressing a button one can exterminate millions and millions of people. No one who holds his life on these terms has a life worth preserving."

During the meeting messages were read from



It must be noted that the "Progressive Union" was not given any radio or TV time. The Communists were, however, and used it for the purpose of presenting themselves as the only party opposing the A-bomb. The increase in Communist votes (from 3.4 to 4.6 per cent of the electorate) was apparently due to this.

## NEUTRALITY

Questions of foreign policy did not enter the election campaign either. At a time when the greater part of the British press proclaims allegiance to NATO, and when "neutral" has almost become a word of abuse, almost everyone in Sweden is for continuing the neutral policy and keeping out of NATO.

The universal desire to stick to Sweden's neutrality was shown once more in the composition of the Swedish UN delegation which left for New York immediately after the election. Sweden has, so far, been represented in the UN by all-party delegations, from which only the Communists have been left out.

This time the Conservatives were left out as well, as they had attacked Mr. Khrushchev in a way which was not considered to be compatible with neutrality.

## Briefly

Laurence A. Hislam, of Stroud (Glos.) CND, was before the local Magistrates' Court last week after refusing to pay the Civil Defence portion of his rates because it was fraudulently levied. "CD is simply a means of conditioning the minds of people for nuclear warfare," he declared.

During her recent visit to South Africa, Vera Brittain prepared a report on "The White Resistance" to apartheid which will be published in a forthcoming issue of *Peace News*.

Michael Tippet, Dame Sybil Thorndike and a number of MPs were among the speakers at a lunch in London last week to commemorate the centenary of the birth of Jane Addams, the American pacifist and social reformer, who was the subject of an article in *Peace News* on Sept. 9.

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But there are many gaps in our drive to make Britain more "Peace News" conscious. Let us have a great Monday morning flood of requests for posters (30in. x 20in. and 15in. x 10in.), publicity material, and PN supplies for newsagents display and local distribution.

Peacemakers must take peace initiatives. We dare not leave solely to newsagents and to what limited press publicity we can afford the task of arousing the public to support us. As the universities and colleges reassemble, as autumn meetings and activities get going, and as the outworn diplomacy of the world gets more bedraggled, Peace News readers must grasp the opportunities.

Everyone can help, but in particular we need

★ More University contacts for our special student activities. These include—

PN weekly for only 4d.

Give-away supplies for new readers.

Reduced postal subscription rates.

Sale-or-return literature supplies.

★ A PN distributor in every pacifist and CND group. We offer them—

Propaganda supplies at 3s. doz. post free.

New readers' trial subscriptions at 2s. 6d. for eight weeks.

Sale-or-return terms at 5s. doz. post free for street selling and local distribution.

★ PN on show in every newsagent. We can offer—

Supplies through any wholesaler at full trade rates, or

Sale-or-return supplies through you at same rates.

Guarantees which we hope you will give to buy up unsold copies after a week's display.

New show-cards with rack for PN, or posters.

We must build a great movement of people who believe in non-violence, unilateralism and pacifism, and PEACE NEWS is here to unite and inform its endeavours.

## SONKOSI DENIES ALLEGATION

Mr. Z. S. Sonkosi, who contributed to *Peace News* last week, denied in London on Tuesday allegations made in South Africa that he was an informer working for the South African Security Branch. Visits he had paid to the Security Police HQ in Johannesburg were for the purpose of securing information about arrested Africans.

the period they caused little real trouble. Yet these were formative years that could seriously affect later life.

The final speaker, Stuart Morris, General Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union, said there was a need for study in the field of non-violence. During his talk on the theme of "Violence and the Fighting Spirit" he examined the idea of direct action which he felt could be useful if people approached it without closed minds, and rounded off the conference by summing up the weekend's discussion.

## Teachers' responsibility

"PROFESSIONAL Integrity and Political Obligation, the Teachers Responsibility," is the title of the main session of the Annual General Meeting of the Teachers' Committee for Nuclear Disarmament to be held tomorrow (Saturday) at Mahatma Gandhi Hall in London at 2 p.m. Dr. James L. Henderson, senior lecturer in the Teaching of History and International Affairs at London University Institute of Education, will address the meeting. Secretary of the Committee is G. W. Colliety, 41 Santos Rd., London, S.W.18.

A report of the anti-apartheid meeting in London's Central Hall last Friday will appear in PN next week.

the language of the Cold War, which each side knows by heart and can talk in its sleep." The notice over the headquarters of the Strategic Air Command, "Our Profession is Peace," reminded him of the sign at Auschwitz—"Salvation through Labour." Auschwitz, however, was not intended for the extermination of all mankind.

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During the meeting messages were read from Canon Collins, who is ill, and Michael Foot. A telegram from the imprisoned Foulness demonstrators was also read, sending greetings and good wishes to the rally and promising to be "back again with you soon against the Bomb."

Other speakers included Lt.-Col. Patrick Lort-Phillips, Ian Mikardo and Judith Hart, MP.

**"I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another"**

*This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union.*

Send YOUR pledge to PPU Headquarters

**DICK SHEPPARD HOUSE**  
6, Endsleigh Street London, W.C.1

## Christmas Cards for Peace

Every year, PN readers do a magnificent fund-raising job for the paper by buying and selling our range of "Endsleigh" Christmas Cards and Gifts, and books from Housmans. The 1960 target is £3,000. This calls for an early start, and everyone giving their help.

Our list will be enclosed in PN next week. For the first time each card is illustrated on it. But to show your friends the bright colours and meaningful quotations, we ask you to order a set of samples. (If you had Endsleigh Cards last year, samples of this year's selection will reach you shortly.)

Funds can also be raised for bazaars and other good causes; the discounts we allow are increased this year.

Please send your sample order today to:

**ENDSLEIGH CARDS (Peace News)**

**5 Caledonian Road, Kings Cross, London, N.1.**



Morrison himself has known; for there is a remarkable lack of indication throughout the book that he was in any way concerned with the deeper policy issues involved. If we may judge by what he has dealt with here, his political horizon seems to have stopped short at the consideration of electoral consequences.

Early in his book the author remarks: "I think I can claim that I am not an ambitious person. This may be a defect of character which has deprived me of the material benefits of life." He himself would probably not deny that he felt a good deal of pique at being by-passed for the Party leadership in succession to Attlee. But this does not seem to me to be incompatible with a basic absence of ambition, and despite the transparent humbug of the reference to the possible "defect of character" I should think this claim is essentially sincere.



On this assumption it becomes something of a puzzle to discern what has been motivating him throughout his life. It is very evident throughout this book it was not any deep concern with the objectives to which policy was to be directed, for except on the most superficial questions he never feels any compulsion to make clear what considerations of principle were actuating him. This vacuum is present from the beginning to the end.

Lord Morrison's introduction to political organisation was through the Independent Labour Party in 1907. Three months later he had resigned and joined the Social Democratic Federation, the Marxist forerunner of the Communist Party. A few months after this we find him out of the SDF and once more back in the ILP.

We get no indication of the policy considerations that actuated him other than that he was at first suspicious of the "extremism" of the SDF, then became impatient of the "moderation" of the ILP, and finally accepted that body because "the best hope was in unity and that diverse paths to our goal were wrong."

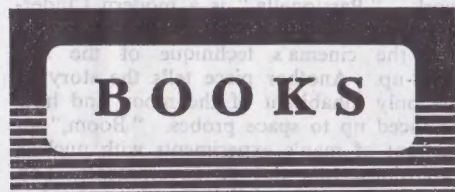
As to what that goal was, we never get

motion moved in Parliament by Philip Snowden.

The outstanding example of his disinclination to set forth the principles motivating him relates to his attitude to war and militarism during World War I and later. In the War Herbert Morrison was a conscientious objector. As he points out, the fact that he had lost the sight of one eye would actually have exempted him from military service. He was, he says, however, intent on sticking to his principles. The Tribunal before which he appeared gave him conditional exemption, which he regarded as satisfactory.

He apparently feels under no obligation to make clear what were the principles to which he was sticking and whether he was acting on a different application of the same principles in later years when he felt the necessity to support militarist policies, or whether he had changed his views and no longer felt bound by these principles.

There were, of course, numbers of those who opposed World War I who nevertheless felt constrained to support or engage in World War II, but these have generally felt, if they were discussing the matter,



under some obligation to set out the considerations that were actuating them. Lord Morrison feels no such need.

The need for clarification, however, goes a good deal deeper than this, for Herbert Morrison had moved over to a complete acceptance of orthodox militarist assumptions. He makes it evident that he was in favour of military action against the Egyptian people and the Nasser Government, and that his criticism of Sir Anthony Eden's policy on this matter would be based on the fact that the military action proved ineffective.

He would similarly have taken military action against Persia at the time of the nationalisation of the Abadan oil wells if it had not been for the fact that "mounting an effective attacking force would take a lot of time and might therefore be a failure."

Herbert Morrison as much as any man was instrumental in settling the form of control that was to be adopted in regard to the nationalised industries. It comes therefore as something of a shock to perceive how little disposition he manifests to discuss the principles on which "public

motion moved in Parliament by Philip Snowden. This bare summary give no indication of the immense readability of this book; in my case only the strongest domestic pressure prevented me from reading it at one sitting. In style it is reminiscent of Musorgsky's Pictures at an Exhibition. Leslie Hale has no doubt prepared so many witnesses' statements and taken so many vague "instructions" from clients who nodoubt

There are other forms than ambition in which excessive egotism can find expression and one of the things with which Herbert Morrison could be preoccupied is indicated by the fact that this volume contains 38 illustrations, every one of which is there because it contains a portrait of the author. (There is another, different, one on the dust cover.)

But what appears to have been the strongest motivating force in Lord Morrison's life is a desire to find scope for his

## NO EARTHLY APPEAL

Blood on the Scales, by Leslie Hale. Jonathan Cape. 18s.

THERE is no earthly appeal possible once a criminal has been executed. Nothing can be done here to restore him to life. This basic point gives unity to the contents of Leslie Hale's new book.

It is not an anti-capital punishment tract. There are enough of these to overwhelm or sustain and encourage everybody seriously interested in this topic. This book is the more valuable because it is addressed to the general reader, who is presumed to be sufficiently conventional never to have questioned the merits and assumptions of our criminal law. It will also have an irresistible appeal to all enthusiasts of detective fiction.

Taking 14 murder cases, the author presents the evidence which was placed before the jury and asks the reader what his verdict would have been had he been a juror. In a section following each story he then sets out the finding of the jury and additional material or the subsequent history to show whether the finding of the jury was in fact right or wrong.

In the final chapter he very briefly reviews a number of cases which are too well known to be treated in full in which a considerable doubt or public anxiety arose and then proceeds to point out in a number of examples, some of them hilariously funny, the shortcomings of a number of basic dicta affecting English criminal law.



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This volume in fact contributes much to the explanation of why the Labour Party finds itself in its present position. It describes a life that epitomises what has now become a dominant characteristic of the Party. This characteristic is now resulting in a feverish endeavour to provide a policy that will sustain a political organisation, because hitherto the construction of the organisation has been so little concerned with the nature of the policy that was the only justification for its existence.

J. ALLEN SKINNER



LESLIE HALE Jonathan Cape  
Thought-provoking comments

much greater disadvantage than he is in England, and by some of the English cases quoted being of pre-1851 vintage, when an accused man was not able to give evidence in his own defence.

In reviewing some of the maxims of criminal law in the final chapter, there is a danger that the reader may be misled by the reference to that hoary legal horror: the reasonable man on the Clapham omnibus. The bus is off course, its route lies in the fields of contract and tort.

It would have helped the logic of what follows and would not have required a

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